

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1702

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 796

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJ: TEXT OF COSTA GOMES ADDRESS, FEBRUARY 10

REF: LISBON 793

1. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY'S INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION CARRIED ON TV AND RADIO AT 2015 HOURS LOCAL FEBRUARY 10.

2. BEGIN TEXT. THE ELECTIONS FOR THE CONSTITUTENT ASSEMBLY WILL TAKE PLACE ON APRIL 12, 1975.

I PROCLAIM THIS DATE PUBLICLY, FULFILLING THE TERMS OF LAW 3/74, ARTICLE 7, NO. 6.

IT IS WORTH RECALLING THAT IN THE GRAND LINES OF THE PROGRAM OF THE AFM (ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT) DECOLONIZATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION WERE THE GENEROUS MOTIVATIONS OF THE COURAGEOUS MEN WHO DID NOT SLEEP ON THE NIGHT OF APRIL 25.

NO ONE HAS DOUBTS WITH REGARD TO THE FUNDAMENTAL STEPS TAKEN ON DECOLONIZATION, IN THIS INEVITABLE TURNING ON THE PATHS OF HISTORY; A TURNING WHICH APPROXIMATES AN ORIGINAL, GENUINELY PORTUGUESE EPILOGUE.

SO BE IT. ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY THE DATE WHICH I HAVE SET TODAY WILL BE A FUNDAMENTAL MILESTONE ON THE LONG ROAD TO BE TRAVELLED.

THESE FIRST ELECTIONS WILL END BY DETERMINING THE MEN

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TO WHOM WILL FALL THE VITAL RESPONSIBILITY

OF PREPARING THE CONSTITUTION, THE BASIC LAW WHICH WILL PROPEL THE PEOPLE TOWARDS THE FUTURE WHICH BELONGS TO THEM.

VOTING IS A RIGHT OF EVERY VOTER, BUT AT THE SAME TIME IT IS A DEMANDING DUTY. NO PORTUGUESE WILL BE DENIED THE RESPONSIBILITY OF VOTING, OF VOTING AS CONSCIENTIOUSLY AS IS POSSIBLE FOR HIM.

TO VOTE IS TO COOPERATE. NOT TO VOTE IS TO BETRAY THE PEOPLE. LET ME TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TODAY TO DRAW UP A BALANCE SHEET OF THE RESULTS OF OUR REVOLUTION, WHICH IS LESS THAN A YEAR OLD.

I WILL BEGIN BY RECOGNIZING MANY MISTAKES AND FALSE STARTS, BOTH INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE, MADE BY MEN AND ORGANIZATIONS CLINGING EGOTISTICALLY TO OLD PRIVILEGES; BY PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY OPPORTUNISM FROM THOSE WHO THIRST FOR POWER; BY THE POPULAR MASSES, THE GOOD AND SIMPLE PEOPLE, WHOM DARK INTERESTS HAVE POLARIZED AND MANIPULATED.

WE ARE LEARNING ASSIDUOUSLY TO LIVE IN LIBERTY. DECREES DO NOT SUFFICE.

THE ACT OF LIVING IN A FREE SOCIETY WILL HAVE TO PERMEATE THE FEELINGS, THE ATTITUDES, AND THE BEHAVIOUS OF EACH OF US. WE WILL HAVE TO CONQUER IT, AND INTEGRATE IT INTO OUR COLLECTIVE PERSONALITY IN A PROCESS THAT IS NOT ISOLATED FROM SHOCKS AND SUPRIRSES.

WE WILL AVOID THE DICTATORSHIPS WHICH WOULD SIDETRACK THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD WE ARE FOLLOWING.

I WOULD RECOMMEND READING THE HISTORY OF SO MANY LIBERATING REVOLUTIONS TO THOSE MEN WITHOUT FAITH, TO THOSE WEAK IN WILL AND IN SPIRIT, TO THOSE WHO DESERT FROM THE LONG MARCH BECAUSE THEY ARE OVERCOME BY THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE REVOLUTION, TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN WOUNDED IN THEIR PRIVILEGES, TO THOSE IMPATIENT ONES, AND TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN UNJUSTLY TREATED.

THE LONG MARCH TO LIBERTY ALWAYS HAS A SOCIAL COST IN BLOOD, SWEAT, AND TEARS; IT IS ONLY THE GENEROUSITY OF GEUINE REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE GOOD WILL AND CIVI SPIRIT OF THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE WHICH HAS PERMITTED SUCH A LOW SOCIAL COST.

AL OF US, PEOPLE OF PORTUGAL, LET US ALL STRUGGLE MORE WITH OUR MINDS AND WORK MORE WITH OUR HANDS, PERSERVERING UNCLASSIFIED

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MORE WITH OUR WILL IN ORDER TO BUILD A FREE SOCIETY WITH A MINIMUM OF UNJUST SUFFERING.

THE CRIES OF IMPATIENT ONES AND OF IDEALISTS, OF PORTUGUESE WHO CRITICIZE WHAT THEY CALL THE "SLOW RYTHNM OF OUR REVOLUTION"-- THESE CRIES REACH EVEN ME.

I AM TOLD BY OTHERS, AMONG WHOM I INCLUDE FOREIGN STATESMEN WHO LED THEIR OWN LIBERATING REVOLUTIONS, OF THE DANGER OF EXCESSIVE ACCELERATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.

THE EXTREME ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON A WORLD IN CRISIS, THE URGENT TASK OF DECOLONIZATION, THE ARTIFICIALITY OF OUR SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION, BACKWARDNESS AND EDUCATIONAL DISTORTATION--THESE ARE SOME OF THE WEIGHTY LEGACIES WHICH LIMIT THE CAPACITY OF REVOLUTIONARY ACCELERATION, UNDER PAIN OF BREAKING THE SOCIAL EQUILIBRIUM WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO MAINTAIN.

IT IS REASSURING TO NOTE HOW MUCH HAS BEEN DONE IN LESS THAN ONE YEAR OF REVOLUTION.

MILLIONS OF SOULS, FRATERNAL PEOPLES, HAVE BEEN PLACED ON THE DECOLONIZING PATH, GENERATING NEW MOTHERLANDS IN THE LUISTANIAN SPIRIT.

THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE, POISONED BY DECADES OF EXTREME RIGHTIST PROPAGANDA, NOW HAVE AT THEIR DISPOSAL FREE ORGANS OF PUBLIC INFORMATION, WHICH ARE ALREADY BEGINNING TO CREATE THE CORRECT BALANCE WITHIN A MULTIPLICITY OF OPINIONS.

THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ECONOMY AND FINANCE HAVE CREATED A MORE VALID BUDGETARY SYSTEM, A FARIER DISTRIBUTION OF THE FISCAL BURDEN; THEY HAVE INCREASED STATE CONTROL OVER BANKS AND THE PRIVATE ECONOMY, AND THEY ARE PREPARING THEIR ACTIONS IN THE CURRENT SITUATION ON THE BASIS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC PLAN, WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN APPROVED.

STATE INTERVENTIONS IN PRIVATE FIRMS HAVE ALREADY BEGUN, AND AGRARIAN REFORM HAS BEEN INTRODUCED.

SECTORS SUCH AS ELECTRIC POWER, PETROLEUM, STEEL, INTERNATIONAL TRADE, COOPERATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEANS OF CONSUMPTION, THE CONSTRUCTION OF FISHING BOATS--THESE AND OTHER SECTORS HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TO FEEL THE NEW ORIENTATION OF THE STATE IN DIVERTING THEM FROM PURELY CAPITALIST INTERESTS AND PLACING THEM AT THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE.

IN THE SPHERE OF INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION, SOLUTIONS OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION ARE BEING SOUGHT, AND THE PRE-ELECTORAL COURSE, FULL OF DIFFICULTIES, IS BEING ADHERED TO FIRMLY.

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IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, COOPERATION IN DECOLONIZATION AND THE READJUDTMENT AND EXPANSION OF OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HAVE BEEN AN IMMENSE TASK IN HOLDING OFF A MORE INTENSIVE INTERNATIONAL EXPLOITATION OF OUR NEW DOMESTIC SITUATION.

THE RENEGOTIATION OF THE CONCORDAT AND THE AZORES AGREEMENT ARE FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1703

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EVERYTHING WHICH RELATES TO DOMESTIC TRANSPORTATION, BOTH SEA AND AIR, IS BEING FULLY RESTUDIED, AS IS THE HOUSING PROBLEM, ENERGY USAGE, PUBLIC WORKS, AND THE DEFENSE OF THE ENVIRONMENT.

THERE HAS NEVER BEEN SUCH INTENSE WORK DONE ON THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL SECURITY FOR WORKERS, WHERE PLANS FOR PROTECTION AGAINST ILLNESS, ACCIDENTS, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND OLD AGE ARE BEING DEVELOPED.

IN THE FIELD OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS, WE ARE SEEKING TO KEEP EXCESSIVE TURBULENCE WITHIN BOUNDS, AND TO LIMIT PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY ADVENTURES, BUT ABOVE ALL IT IS IMPORTANT TO CONTINUE TO REINFORCE THE ORDERLY BUT FRIM STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS WHO HAVE WORKED FOR AND WON LEGITIMATE RIGHTS TO A BETTER LIFE AND GREATER DIGNITY.

IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION, ALL THAT HAS BEEN DONE, INCLUDING DEMOCRATIZING OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS, THE REVISION OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS, THE CULTURAL AGREEMENTS, WORK AND PLANNING AND PREPARATION-- ALL OF THIS SEEMS NOT TO HAVE MADE MUCH OF AN IMPRESSION.

THIS HAS BEEN AN EFFORT COMAOUFLAGED BY THE IMMENSE JUNGLE OF WHAT STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE, AN INTRINSICALLY GIGANTIC TAKS WHICH IS AGGRAVATED BY EXTREMIST CURRENTS OF THOUGHT, BY FASCISTS OR PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARIES, TO WHOM A FREE PORTUGAL DOES NOT SEEM TO BE SUITED.

LET US ALSO BEAR IN MIND WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED OR READIED IN THE FIELD OF HEALTH, PREVENTIVE MEDICINE, IN DEMOCRATIZING THE HOSPITAL SYSTEM, AND IN REGULARIZING
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PROFESSIONALY CAREERS.

WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE ACCOMPLISHED MORE AND TOHAVE DONE BETTER,

BUT LET US DO JUSTICE TO THOSE WHO HAVE CURRENT RESPONSIBILITY, THOSE TIRELESS WORKERS WHO DESERVE HIGH MARKS IN THE WORLD OF HONEST LABOR WITH WHICH WE WILL HAVE TO FORGE A COUNTRY THAT IS DEMOCRATIC, GEUINELY FREE AND FAIR.

IN THESE NECESSARILY BROAD TERMS I HAVE DEFINED THE AXES BY WHICH OUR REVOLUTIN IS ADVANCING, WITH THE THURST AND SOCIETAL SECURITY IN THE HANDS OF THE MEN OF THE AFM, OF GENEUINELY DEMOCRATIC FORCES, AND ABOVE ALL, OF THE PEOPLE OF PORTUGAL.

TO THE TIMOROUS, TO THE PRIVILEGED OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME TO ALL WHO LET THEMSELVES FALL INTO STEP WITH DISBELIEF OR FRIGHT, I WOULD RECOMMEND MORE COURAGE AND WILL TO WORK FOR THE FUTURE OF THE LEAST-FAVORED CLASSES, WITHOUT THINKING SO MUCH ABOUT THEIR OWN PEACE AND COMFORT.

TO THE UTOPIANS, TO THE SELLERS OF ILLUSIONS, TO THE CUL-TIVATORS OF HATE AND VIOLENCE, TO THE VENEGEFUL, TO THE BALEFUL MANIPULATORS OF PUBLIC OPINION I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT THEY EXAMINE THEIR CONSCIENCES, TAKE A NEW ATTITUDE IN THE FACE OF A PEOPLE THAT WISHES TO LIVE FREE, WORK MORE, AND DISTRIBUTE MORE EQUITABLY THE WEALTH FROM PRODUCTION.

IN THE NEW PORTUGAL ALL JUST MEN AND WORKERS OF UPRIGHT INTENTION WILL FIND THEIR PLACE.

IT IS APPROPRIATE, NOW THAT WE SHALL HAVE OUR FIRST ELECTIONS TO DIRECT OUR ATTENTION TO THOSE WHO IN WORDS OR IN WRITING, DEMAND FROM THEIR LEADERS AUTOMCRATIC MEASURES FOR THE LARGE AND SMALL EVILS THAT THEY FIND OR THINK THEY FIND.

WE ARE IN A NEW PORTUGAL; AUTOCRATIC AND INDIVIDUAL POWER WILL NOT RETURN. POWER IS NOW, AND WILL BE, EXERCISED BY THE EVOLVING COLLECTIVE ORGANS OF A SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES. WE SHALL HAVE TO ACCEPT SMALL INCONVENIENCES ALONG WITH THE GREAT ADVANTAGES OF THE PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

I WILL END WITH TWO APPEALS. THE FIRST I WISH TO DIRECT TO THE AUTHENTIC PARTIES, THOSE THAT ARE TRULY REPRESENT-ATIVE OF THE GENUINE SECTORS OF THE PEOPLE OF PORTUGAL.

HAPPINESS FOR US ALL WILL DEPDN GREATLY ON YOUR INFORMATIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL ACTION WITH THE POPULAR MASSES. INTENSIFY EVERYTHING WHICH CONTRIBUTES TO UNITY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PLURALISTIC AND FREE DEMOCRACY, AND SEEK TO FORGET THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS POSSIBLE IN THE POLITICAL UNCLASSIFIED

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STRUGGLE.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A SYSTEM WHICH WILL BE COMPATIBLE WITH ALL THE AUTHENTIC PARTIES; LATER ON, IN A POLITICALLY MORE KNOWLEGEABLE SOCIETY, BEING FREE, WE SHALL BE ABLE TO ARRIVE AT POSITIONS THAT PRECISELY FIT EACH PARTY DOCTRINE.

CORDIALITY, GENEROSITY, AND LOYALY IN THE STRUGGLE ARE ATTRIBUTES OF THE TRUE FIGHTERS FOR LIBERTY.

THE SECOND APPEARL I DIRECT TO ALL VOTERS. VOTE, BUT

VOTE CONSCIENTIOUSLY; THE LACK OF POLITICAL BACKGROUND WILL NOT CAUSE US SHAME, BECAUSE IT WAS ALWAYS DENIED AND STOLEN FROM US.

WE NOW HAVE TO HAVE A DIALOG, TO LISTEN, TO READ, TO SPEAK, AND TO LISTEN, TO THE PARTY PROGRAM, AND TO TO TRAIN OUR CRITICAL SPIRIT TO ORDER TO MAKE A CONSCIENTIOUS AND VALID CHOICE.

LET US NOT SEE FANTASIES IN THE HARBINGERS OF LIBERTY, NOR SHOULD WE ACCEPT THE ILLUSION OF TOTALITARIAN UTOPICS--OF WILL OF THE WISPS, BEAUTIFUL BUT STERILE.

ABOVE ALL LET US REJECT PARTIS OR DOCTRINES THAT OFFER VIOLENCE AND HATE IN THE PRESENT, IN EXCHANGE FOR A SUPPOSED FUTURE PARADISE TO WHICH SUCH A PATH WOULD NEVER LEAD.

I WELCOME THE 12TH OF APRIL 1975, WHICH I SEE AS A LUMINOUS LANDMARK IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCE WHICH WILL LEAD US TO A FREE AND AUTHENTIC DEMOCRACY.

I SALUTE ALL THE VOTERS WHO WILL VOTE CONSCIENTIOUSLY FOR PARTIES COMPATIBLE WITH THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION.

LET US CONTRIBUTE WITH OUR VOTE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A CONSTITUTION THAT WILL GUARANTEE US A FUTURE IN LIBERTY, FRATERNITY, PROGRESS, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.

END TEXT.

CARLUCCI

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